Tracking neighbourhood change: establishing the links between change in neighbourhood social structure, built form and housing market performance

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As a result of rising land prices there has been considerable infill medium density housing development across the Adelaide Statistical Division (ASD). It is hypothesised that this may be having a negative impact on local neighbourhoods in terms of social structure, for example economic status and family makeup and in terms of local housing market performance. This paper will report on initial findings with regard to neighbourhood change across the ASD between two census periods (2001 and 2006) in terms of both social structure and housing form and will explore the extent to which such change is linked to local housing market performance.

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Introduction

As a result of rising land prices there has been considerable infill medium density housing development across the Adelaide Statistical Division (ASD). It is hypothesised that this may be having a negative impact on local neighbourhoods in terms of social structure, for example reduce diversity as measured by economic status and family makeup and in terms of local housing market performance (Bramley et al 2007; Yates, 2006). On the other hand concern has been expressed by government providers that such infill and renewal may reduce the stock of affordable housing, cause housing displacement and result in community disruption (AHII 2008).

The identification and classification of urban areas along lines of social structure has been a productive area of housing research in that such analysis has allowed for a better understanding of residential submarkets (Reed, 2001; Lockwood & Coffee, 2006), buyer behaviour (Ibrahim & Ong, 2004), housing needs (Meen, 2001; Meen & Meen, 2003; Bunker, Holloway & Randolph, 2005) and social polarisation (Reynolds & Wulff, 2005). The origins of this approach lie in the early work of Shevky and Bell (1955) who used census data to apply social area analysis to Los Angeles and San Francisco and hypothesized that the social make up of these two cities could best be understood along the lines of socio-economic status, family status and ethnic status. These they termed ‘social constructs’. This line of enquiry has been productive with other studies producing similar results using census data (Jones, 1969; Rees 1970). Murdie (1969) used the concept of social structure to produce a model in which the social constructs of economic status, family status and ethnic status were given a spatial dimension atop a ‘physical space’, implying that such social constructs could be distinguished by location.

This paper uses the technique of principal components analysis (SPSS 1993) to identify housing and social constructs using Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data for 2001 and 2006 for 380 suburbs across the ASD. As suggested by Bunker et al (2005, pg 781) such social constructs provide “the demand which drives the functioning of ... submarkets”. These constructs can be used to examine demographic change across the two census periods at neighbourhood level.

Next suburbs which have experienced higher increases of medium density development between the two census periods are identified and compared in terms of physical form, median house prices and socioeconomic makeup with the rest of the ASD. This analysis is an attempt to identify whether medium density housing investment has any impact on market performance at suburb level and if there are associated changes in neighbourhood social structure.

Data

ABS 2001 and 2006 census data for the ASD was used to identify social constructs based on principal component analysis. Some 144 variables which were consistent in their measurement across the two census periods were taken from the ABS Basic Community Profile for 380 suburbs within the ASD (Table 1). A number of these variables were based on those selected by the ABS in the construction of their Socio Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA). There are four SEIFA indexes (ABS 2006) which are used to track relative socioeconomic advantage and disadvantage, occupation and education and level of economic resources across statistical areas and are based on the ABS Census. However a number of other variables not included in the SEIFA indexes were used in this analysis in this paper in particular those pertaining to mobility, language and ethnicity and housing form. As well the number of variables used is rather more than those used in the SEIFA indexes which are based on a fairly narrow selection of variables, tend to be more particular to the census period in which they are constructed and are not suitable for comparison across census periods (ABS 2006). However the SEIFA indexes were used in the paper to investigate whether there were significant differences
within a census period between those suburbs which had experienced higher levels of flat and unit development and those that had not. Median price data for each suburb for all dwellings, detached dwellings and units for 2001 and 2006 was used to identify the impact, if any, of change in neighbourhood structure and dwelling type on housing market performance.

Analysis

First principal components analysis (PCA) was carried out using percentage values for 144 variables (Table 1) across 380 suburbs to identify the core components or factors that cumulatively help to explain the housing and social fabric of each suburb for 2001 and 2006. KMO and Bartlett tests indicated that both data sets were suitable for this type for analysis (Table 2, Table 3). Based on the criteria of eigen values greater than 1, eight factors were produced for the 2001 census representing some 78.8 percent of the variance (Table 4) and nine factors for the 2006 census, representing some 79.1 percent of the variance within the data set (Table 5). From these rotations six factors were identified for each data set based on the interpretation of those variables with factor loadings greater than .5. For the 2001 data set (Table 6) the factors were labelled in order of percentage of variance explained as Socio economic (based on the inclusion of variables representing items such as income, qualifications and occupation); Familism (based on variables representing such items as age and family structure); Mobility (based on variables covering dwelling change or stability in last 1 to 5 years); Ethnicity (based on language and place of birth); Medium Density Housing Authority (based on selection of housing form and housing authority dwellings) and finally Medium to High Density Other (representing higher density forms of private development).

These six factors represented some 70 percent of the overall variance (Table 4) which were considered adequate for the purposes of the analysis (Hair et al 1998). The final two factors were not able to be summarized adequately. The positive and negative ends of each factor were interpreted and then mapped to confirm the spatial distribution of the social structure (Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3, Figure 4).

Similar labels were able to be attached to the 2006 rotation (Figure 5, Figure 6, Figure 7, Figure 8) although the importance of the factors in terms of the variance explained by each was different (Table 5). As such the 2006 factors were labelled as Socio economic, Mobility, Ethnicity, Familism, Medium Density Housing Authority and Medium to High Density Other. These six factors represented some 68 percent of the overall variance. The final three factors were not able to be summarized adequately. Again the positive and negative ends of each factor were interpreted and then mapped (Figure 5, Figure 6, Figure 7, Figure 8).

Next those suburbs which had experienced higher levels of unit and flat development between 2001 and 2006 were identified. This was measured as the percentage change in the number of one and two storey flats, units and apartments between 2001 and 2006. This was the only variable representing medium density housing form that was consistent across the two census periods. The top quintile of the 300 suburbs able to be measured was then selected for further analysis. This 20 percent represented 62 suburbs which had experienced at least a fifty percent change in their volume of medium density development. These suburbs were then compared to the rest of the ABS within each census period using simple t test analysis of means (Table 8) assuming differences in variance for a number of items including census variables, factors representing neighbourhood social structure identified by the PCA, SEIFA indexes, for median house price and for median price change for all dwellings (Figure 10), and for houses only and for units only. Percentage difference in terms of the volume of medium density development for the ASD between 2001 and 2006 was also measured (Figure 9).
Results

The test for equality of means (Table 8) identifies that the suburbs which went on to experience large increases in medium density development in 2006 (> than 50 %) were distinguished, in 2001 from the rest of the ASD by lower volumes of higher density development (Sig>.05) and private rented accommodation (Sig>.05). They could also be identified by the low nature of their housing density (Sig >.1) that is, a higher volume of detached dwellings. These three factors may offer the potential for investment in terms of redevelopment and infill. However by 2006 these suburbs had achieved a stock of medium density development comparable with the rest of the ASD giving rise to substantial change in their built form within a five year period.

In terms of social structure as identified by the PCA, these suburbs could be distinguished by higher levels of mobility in 2001 and by relatively higher levels of Australian born in 2001 and in 2006. In 2001 these neighbourhoods could not be distinguished in terms of family structure but by 2006 they could be distinguished by a lower than average index of Familism (Sig >.1) as measured by the PCA. By 2006 they could be distinguished also from the rest of the ASD by lower levels of socio economic status (Sig >.05) and in terms of a lower score on the SEIFA index of Education and Occupation, which measures education levels and job skills. However, in 2006 these suburbs could be also distinguished by a higher level of home purchase (Sig >.05) and a lower level of private rented properties (Sig>.5).

In 2001 there was no distinction between suburbs in terms of the median price paid for all dwellings, detached dwellings or units. However by 2006 there was a distinction in the median price being paid for detached dwellings (Sig >.05) which was lower than that for suburbs which had not experienced an increase in the level of medium density development. However there was no distinction between those suburbs which had seen a large change in the volume of medium density development and those which had not, in terms of the percentage change in median price for all dwellings, detached dwellings or units.

As of 2001 these neighbourhoods could be distinguished (Sig >.05) by means of factors identified in the PCA, in terms of ethnicity and mobility and in 2006 in terms of ethnicity, familism and socio economic status. In terms of ethnicity, their social structure had not changed retaining a strong Australian born dimension, while in terms of mobility, familism and socio economic status there had been a shift. They could also be identified in terms of the level of dwellings being purchased (Sig >.05) and by the SEIFA Index for Education and Occupation (Sig > .05).

Therefore, in terms of change between 2001 and 2006 these 62 suburbs have experienced higher levels of medium density development, their neighbourhood structure has changed to become less family based and they can be distinguished in terms of a lower socio economic status and by means of a socio economic index which tracks job skills and education. The suburbs also show relatively lower levels of mobility and higher levels of home purchase.

In 2001 there was no distinction between these suburbs in terms of median price paid for all dwellings, detached dwellings or units but by 2006 there was a distinction in the median prices being paid for detached dwellings. However no other distinction could be identified between the census periods in terms of the level of median price increase for any category of dwelling. Dwellings, both detached and units, within suburbs which have seen major redevelopment show the same level of price increase as those which have not.
Conclusion

This paper is an introductory analysis only and further consideration would need to be made of the results of the PCA in term of detail about the nature of family structure and mobility and the level of difference within the SEIFA index of Education and Occupation. Overall it would appear that these neighbourhoods have experienced significant change in their built form, some change within their neighbourhood structure but are not experiencing any significant difference in terms of housing market performance.

As such there may be no winners or losers in terms of housing investment. Those who worry that medium density infill will dampen house prices significantly may have less to fear than they expect while those who are concerned that redevelopment signals the end of affordable housing may still find that that housing opportunities remain for those on lower incomes. Of most significance would appear to be the change in social structure which could increase the opportunities for social mix and diversity though that does not appear to be fully supported in this paper. Further analysis of the PCA results is required. There is also the opportunity through spatial analysis to identify any location influences which might be compensating for difference in housing form between neighbourhoods.

References

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**Table 2 KMO Test 2001**

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Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

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Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Table 6 Rotated Component Matrix ASD 2001

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### Table 7 Rotated Component Matrix ASD 2006

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<td>People only up to Year 8 Schooling</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Rotation converged in 10 iterations.
Figure 1 ASD 2001 Socioeconomic Factor 1

Figure 2 ASD 2001 Familism Factor 2
Figure 3 ASD 2001 Mobility Factor 3

Figure 4 ASD 2001 Ethnicity (Australian born) Factor 4
Figure 5 ASD 2006 Socio economic Factor 1

2006 Census Adelaide ASD

Socio economic
- Very Low
- Low
- Median
- High
- Very High

Figure 6 ASD 2006 Mobility Factor 2

2006 Census Adelaide ASD

Mobility
- Very High
- High
- Median
- Low
- Very Low
Figure 7 ASD 2006 Ethnicity Factor 3

Figure 8 ASD 2006 Familism Factor 4
Figure 9 Percentage difference 2001 to 2006 in 1 or 2 storey flats and units

Figure 10 Percentage change median price 2001 to 2006 - houses & units
Table 8 Test for Equality of Means ASD 2001 & 2006

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